

Clay was thus recklessly using. That he meant to excite insurrection, or to invite a servile war, we do not, cannot for one moment believe. We believe him to be incapable of baseness, and in all manly qualities far to exceed some who are most busy in denouncing him. But while we give credit to Mr. Clay by imputing to him no improper motives, we know that the conduct of the slaves in Fayette is said to have changed since the publication of the True American. We heard, while at Lexington, that the slaves in the factories and on the farms had refrained to work, which they were singing daily to the praise of Cassius M. Clay, boasting that he was about to break the chains of their bondage, and would, by the force of his character and influence, elevate them to an equality with their masters. It was said that, under this feeling, the slaves had lately become idle and insolent, and, in some instances, had refused to labor. The people were alarmed for their security. The mother feared for the lives of her children, and the safety of her own person from negro violence. Such we know to have been the general feeling pervading the community of Fayette, excusing in their opinion an immediate interference with the business of Mr. Clay, and the suppression of a publication which they considered the source of the evil, the effects of which they so much dreaded. The people were led to believe that the continuance of the True American would involve the community in perils which, though unforeseen, could not be avoided.

We are disposed to believe that the meeting passed their resolutions and acted under the sense of great and imminent danger. The leaders were cool, determined and deliberate in the formation and execution of their purposes. There was no resistance offered to them, and therefore no wanton mischief was perpetrated. The people acted through a committee, who entered the office, packed up the press and materials and shipped the property to Cincinnati. That no blood was shed in the execution of the will of this meeting was, without doubt, owing to the illness of Mr. Clay, who was confined to his bed by a fever, and pronounced by his physicians in danger of losing his life. Had he been in health, we have no idea he would unhesitatingly suffered his property to be removed without his consent, and his attempt to protect it would probably have cost the lives of many. Thus, by the interposition of Providence only, is our State saved from the disgrace of having blood spilt by the hands of a popular assembly. Reflecting men will disapprove of the temper of Mrs. Clay and the tone of the American, but they will say that his concessions and promise of a better temper and spirit should have disarmed the committee, and especially, when it was asserted that, if the meeting would permit the property to remain untouched, the publication should cease.

This meeting set a precedent which we hope we may not live to see imitated here or elsewhere. To exhibit the error committed, let us look for a moment to the effect. In the free States, interested demagogues, will seize upon this transaction to inflame the minds of the multitude against slaveholders. Political abolition will make capital from this occurrence to swell the number of its infatuated supporters. We shall hear the right of discussion proclaimed, and this affair held up as an evidence of its suppression in Kentucky. We are at no loss to determine the effect of the disturbance at Lexington upon the feeling in Kentucky. Few will go farther than to disapprove of what we do, a few will openly and violently denounce the Fayette people under all the circumstances of the case; and a few will approve of all that was done. But the rational and temperate discussion of ultimate emancipation will not be checked even by this popular outbreak. Many of the best minds of the State are engaged with the question, and they will express freely their opinions, and act freely upon them. We must make up our minds to meet that question, for no human power can stop it. We hope earnestly that the discussion will be conducted every where temperately, that every plan to rid Kentucky of slavery will be examined cautiously and with judgment, that public opinion will be fairly elicited so as best to promote the public good. We do not believe that Kentucky can have reached that point at which men should be afraid to speak, write, and publish touching the disposition of our slave population. We have ever looked forward to a day when Kentucky should hold within her boundary no bondman, and we hope to live to see the light of such a day. If we have fallen upon times when the freedom of speech and of the press should be shackled lest servile war ensue, the sooner we adopt measures to remove an evil which disturbs our peace, destroys confidence in our security, and awakens a whole community to arms, the better for ourselves, our children, & our Commonwealth. In this particular community we know that there is considerable feeling on the subject of gradual emancipation and a desire to bring it prominently before the State among the political questions deserving attention. We expect to discuss it and to admit to our columns well written communications upon it on both sides. We deprecate all incendiary, demagogical and radicalism, and we hope the Legislature will provide some remedy to guard against wanton incendiary publications, designed to stir our slaves to mutiny; but we favor now and shall always favor every attempt to ameliorate our social condition, to add to the prosperity of the State, and to knit the bonds of the National Union more closely, when such attempts are made with dignity and moderation.

From the New York Tribune.
Speech of Ralph Emerson at the Celebration in Waltham, Mass. August 1, 1845.

[Since the publication of the letter of 'C. K. W.' giving an account of the celebration of the First of August at Waltham, we have received a letter from another correspondent enclosing the following sketch of the remarks of Mr. Emerson on that occasion.—Many readers will be as glad to see it as we are to give it a place.]

What is the defence of Slavery? What is the irresistible argument by which every plea

of humanity and reason has hitherto been borne down?

Is it a doubt of the equity of the negro's cause? By no means. Is it a doubt of the sincerity of the reformer? No; the Abolitionists are thought partial, credulous, tedious monomaniacs; bitter—but no man doubts their sincerity. Is it a stringent self interest? No; this acts in certain places. It acts on the seaboard, and in great thoroughfares, where the Northern merchant or manufacturer exchanges hospitalities with the Southern planter, or trades with him, and loves to exculpate himself from all sympathy with those turbulent Abolitionists. But it acts only there—not on the Northern people at large. The farmers, for example, in this County, or in this State, feel no pinch of self-interest to court the complacency of the Southerner. If Fitchburg stock is good—if we can buy and sell land, and wood, and hay, and corn—if we can sell shoes, and tin-ware, and clocks, and carriages and chairs—we don't care whether he likes or dislikes it. What, then, is the objection? I think there is but one single argument which has any real weight with the bulk of the Northern people, and which lies in one word—a word which I hear pronounced with triumphant emphasis in bar-rooms, in shops, in streets, in kitchens, at musters, and at cattle shows. That word is *Niggers*—a word which, cried by rowdy boys and rowdy men in the ear of this timid and sceptical generation, is reckoned stronger than heaven; it blows away with a jeer all the efforts of philanthropy, all the expostulations of pity, the cries of millions, now for hundreds of years—all are answered by this insulting appellation. "Oh, the Niggers!" and the boys straightway sing Jim Crow and jump Jim Crow in the streets and taverns.

It is the objection of an inferiority of race. They who say it and they who hear it, think it the voice of nature and fate pronouncing against the Abolitionist and the Philanthropist; that the *ye, ye*, of the Negro, his laugh, and the imperfect articulation of his organs designate an inferior race; and that the good will of amiable enthusiasts in his behalf will avail him no more against this sentence of Nature than a pair of oars against the falling ocean of Niagara.

And what is the amount of this conclusion in which the men of New England acquiesce? It is, that the Creator of the Negro has given him up to stand as a victim of a caricature of the white man beside him; to stoop under his pack, and to bleed under his whip; if that be the doctrine, then, I say, if he have given up his cause, he has also given up mine, who feel his wrong, and who in our hearts must curse the Creator who has undone him.

But no, it is not so; the Universe is not bankrupt; still stands the old heart firm in its seat, and knows that, come what will, the right is and shall be. Justice is forever and ever. And what is the reply to this fatal allegation?

I believe there is a sound argument derived from facts collected in the United States and in the West Indies, in reply to this alleged hopeless inferiority of the colored race. But I shall not touch it. I concern myself now with the morals of the system, which seem to scorn a tedious catalogue of particulars on a question so simple as this. The only reply, then, to this poor sceptical rebuff is the affirming heart. The sentiment of right which is the principle of civilization and the reason of reason, fights against this damnable atheism. All the facts in history are fables and untrustworthy, beside the dictates of the moral sentiment which speaks one and the same voice in all cases. And what says that to the injured Negro? If we listen to it, it assures us that in his very wrongs is his strength. The Persians have a proverb: "Beware of the orphan; for when the orphan sets a-criery, the throne of the Almighty is shaken from side to side." It is certain that, if it should come to question, all just men, all intelligent agents, must take the part of the black against the white man. Then I say, never is the planter safer; his house is a den; a just man cannot go there, except to tell him so. Whatever may appear at the moment, however contrasted the fortunes of the black and the white—though the one live in his hereditary mansion-house, and the latter in a shed; though one rides an Arabian horse, and the other is hunted by blood-hounds; though one eats and the other sweats; one strikes, and the other dies—yet is the planter's an unsafe and unblest condition. Nature fights on the other side; and as power is always stealing from the idle to the busy hand, it seems inevitable that a revolution is preparing at no distant day to set these disjointed matters right.

See further, if you with me are believing and not unbelieving, if you are open to hope and not despair, in what manner the moral power secures the welfare of the black man.

In the moral creation, it is appointed from everlasting, that the protection of the weak shall be in the illumination of the strong. It is in the order of things the privilege of superiority to give, to bestow, to protect, to love, to serve. This is the office and source of power. It is power's power to do these things; and, on the other hand, it is the ruin of power to steal, to injure and to put to death. The hope and the refuge of the weaker individual and the weaker races is here. It will not always be reputable to steal and to oppress. It will not always be possible. Every new step taken in the true order of human life takes out something of brutality and infuses something of good will. Precisely as it is the necessity of grass to grow, of the child to be born, of light to shine, of heat to radiate, and of matter to attract, so it is of man's race and every race to rise and to refine. "All things strive to ascend, and ascend in their striving." And it will be as natural and obvious a step with the increased dominion of right reason over the human race, for the interests of the more amicable and pacific classes to be eagerly defended by the more energetic, as it is now for Trade to displace War.

I know that this race have long been victims. They came from being preyed on by the barbarians of Africa, to be preyed on by the barbarians of America. To many of them, no doubt, Slavery was a mitigation and a

gain. Put the slave under negro drivers, and it is said these are more cruel than the white. Their fate now, as far as it depends on circumstances, depends on the raising of their masters. The masters are ambitious of culture and civility. Elevate, enlighten, civilize the semi-barbarous nations of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama—take away from their debauched society the Bowie-knife, the rum-bowl, the dice-box, and the stews—take out the brute, and infuse a drop of civility and generosity, and you touch those selfish lords with thought and gentleness.

Instead of racers, jockies, duellists and peacocks, you shall have a race of decent and lawful men, incapacitated to hold slaves and eager to give them liberty. * * * I hold it, then, to be the part of right reason, to hope and to affirm well of this portion of the human family, and to accept the humane voices which in our time have espoused their cause, as only the forerunners of vast majorities in this country and in the race.

TEXAS—Important.—The Editor of the Van Buren (Arks.) Intelligencer says, in his paper of the 2d, inst., that he has been placed in possession of certain items of Texan news through the politeness of Mr. Gregg, of Marshall, Harrison county, Texas. Among these items we find the following:

[N. O. Picayune.]
"The Dragons that were ordered into Texas were rendezvoused near Nacogdoches, waiting for the employment of wagons and the engagement of supplies necessary for their consumption, we understand have been ordered immediately to Austin by forced marches, and much excitement was created in Harrison County by the movement; as the orders were not accompanied with any assigned cause for the movement, and many feared that the Camanches might have threatened a descent upon that city while the convention was in session to capture the members. The orders for the engagement of wagons, &c. were countermanded and the troops at once put in motion for Austin."

LIQUORS BURNED.—In the great fire in New York, the following liquors were consumed—showing something of the extent of trade: 981 pipes of Brandy; 200 pipes of gin; 100 puncheons of Rum; 600 pipes of Wine; 6,000 casks of Wine; 1000 casks of Claret; 5000 baskets of Champagne.

COMMUNICATIONS.

LETTER FROM AMOS H. WILLIS.

FREEPORT, AUG. 10th 1845.
DEAR FRIENDS.—I this day received a No. of the "Liberty Advocate" in which I found my letter to you, asking for your "Bugle." The Editor seems to hint that I had no idea he would see my letter, if so, he was mistaken. I did expect he would see it, for I supposed you exchanged with him, and expect his "Argus eye" will see this. I have not received a No. of your paper since the first, hence I know not whether he has been answered the question he asked.

The "Liberty" man hits us a terrible blow, because we said "Anti-Slavery in its big meaning." Yes, I have received the whole weight of his Claymore and wonderful to tell am "growing faint with the loss of blood." Oh that some good Samaritan would pour into our gaping wounds the soothing balm; but alas for us, we are "Infidels," and the good Samaritans are all in the church engaged in pouring the needful into the pockets of their faithful servants, the Priests,—and between them and us, there is a great "Gulf," for "the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans," or the church votaries with "Infidels." And now since we have sufficient of the "vital spark" left to keep us from being called dead, we will gratify this "military" man, with our explanation of the difference between Liberty Party and "Anti-Slavery in its big meaning," and as the Liberty Party claims to be Anti-Slavery, it is proper that the difference should be shown, and it appears to me to be this. Liberty party preaches up the doctrine that it is wrong to stay in, and right to come out of the two pro-slavery political parties, while "anti-slavery in its big meaning" advocates the doctrine that it is wrong to stay in, and right to come out of all pro-slavery parties. Here then is one difference. Another is, that the Liberty party permits its members to remain in the bosom of the church in full fellowship with slaveholders and their abettors; while "anti-slavery in its big meaning" bids its votaries "to come out from among them lest they be partakers of their sins and receive of their plagues."

But to return to the notice of the "Bugle" as found in the "Advocate." He says "it considers the overthrow of the existing Government of the United States, and the annihilation of the present ecclesiastical organizations, as essential means for the emancipation of the slave. It appears to be opposed to all political action, not only for anti-slavery purposes, but for any purpose; as it opposes all the existing political parties, and also the formation of any new one. Such is to be the character of the Anti-Slavery Bugle. Whether the friends of the slave in Ohio will show it favor, remains to be shown."

Now the obvious intention of the above was to prejudice those readers against it who know not the object of the paper and the society of which it is the organ. Would the Editor have written thus if he had wished it to receive subscribers? Again, I read in the same paper three or four other notices of papers, all of which were presented as worthy of patronage; not so with the unfortunate Bugle. This faded sheet must receive a stab in its very infancy. It was this partiality and misrepresentation that satisfied me of "that man's liberty," and I think I am not mistaken in its kind; and if the Editor of the Advocate has any desire for a controversy on the "faith that is in him," or that is in the Anti-Slavery Bugle, he can be gratified by opening the columns of the Advocate for free discussion. But let us for argument sake suppose that the Editor represented the Bugle correctly; has he not established the same doctrine of overthrowing and opposing? He opposes and seeks the overthrow of the two parties, and justifies himself on the grounds that they are pro-slavery. Strange

then that he should condemn the Bugle for seeking to overthrow all the pro-slavery parties on the same ground. Consistency truly is a jewel, and may my brother find it.

If I rightly understand the doctrine of the Bugle, or the Society of which it is the organ, it holds that slavery is a sin; and that as abolitionists we must cease to follow up that sin both in the church and in the state, either by refusing to let it remain in, or, if it has the power in its own hands, that we then are to withdraw. And we find that we are commanded thus to do for the church of Christ has ever been taught, to turn sin out of her doors, or if the church were cumbered at heart, I mean if sin had got into her "Holly of Holies," then were the faithful required to come out of her. "Come out of her my people that ye be not partakers of her sins," and this is the voice of the "Bugle." Slavery has flung its blasting milder into the very sanctuary of the church; it has entwined itself around her trunk and around every fibre; she has become canker-eaten and decayed. No more does she lean upon the arm of her once beloved but now weeping Saviour; for she is fallen from the glory of departed days, and is now chained and carried upon the back of the "Great Beast" that once did pursue her. Alas for her! Heaven's hosts are weeping over her destruction—while devils damned in lowest hell shout with infernal glee: The Bugle, like a messenger from the skies, sounds its loud notes in her guilty ears and calls unto the elect or faithful to come out of her lest they partake of the judgments that are in waiting for her. And for being thus faithful to the mission entrusted to its care, not only the Pharisees who love to pray standing in the popular places, but the Scribes of Liberty party wait to "see if it will be supported by the people of Ohio;" and among these Scribes is the pious Editor of the "Advocate," who himself is a member of an evangelical convocation of men-stealers and women whippers. And to justify himself in thus remaining a member of the church, he says he does so in order to lend his influence to redeem or cleanse her. Why did he not think of this better way a little sooner, and stay in the Whig party and redeem or cleanse it from all pro-slavery!

Just look at this pious Editor, battling the pro-slavery sentiment in the two political parties and calling down upon them the anathemas of heaven, and at the same time supporting an ecclesiastical organization which holds that slavery is an institution of the Bible—"God ordained." This looks very much to us like "stopping the spile and opening the bung," for while the church has the manufacturing of the public sentiment, the two parties only strive which shall ride into power upon the sentiment thus created. Pro-slavery is found in the one, because the other teaches it in the pulpit; then the church is the field for labor; the fountain from which slavery drinks its fill, and satisfies its hunger. And it was because the Anti-Slavery Society turned its battering rams against this source of pro-slavery sentiment that a goodly number of those whose bread and butter comes by their teaching on the Sabbath day, became frightened lest their sceptres should be taken from them; and to evade such a dreadful calamity, they cried, "Slavery is a political evil, and must be put down by political means," and immediately Liberty party was born—and then they cried again: "Liberty party will overthrow slavery,—come ye unto it and let the church alone, for they that speak evil of her are Excommunicated."

Has this not virtually been the case? No wonder our faithful Garrison combatted Liberty party with such determined courage, for truly has it been one of slavery's artful schemes to ward off her impending ruin.—It was a deep laid artful plan, and has even succeeded in drawing the third part of the stars of the anti-slavery host after it; and by its cry of "Infidelity" it has shut the eyes of many more that would now have been among the faithful opposers of slavery. But it is a consolation to know that it has been detected in its very infancy, and although the shock vibrated through every fibre of the A. S. Society, although its organ was stolen by its professed friends, and its energies crippled for a season, yet it is now coming up clothed in the majesty of Truth to battle the hosts of slavery even in their own tents; and it will yield no quarter, nor "Give up the ship," until the shout of disenthralled millions shall go up to heaven, and the demon of oppression sink into oblivion.

But I am occupying room which should be filled by able pens, and must content myself with the hope that the Editor of the "Advocate" will publish this in his paper, and as he likes to copy from the "Bugle" in particular, I feel in hopes that he will lay before his readers the article on "The superiority of moral over political power," which he will find in the first number.

Yours in the cause of Universal Liberty,
AMOS H. WILLIS.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

Let the cry ring out clear, shrill and strong, so that it may echo from hill top to hill top, and be heard through every valley and secluded glen in the land. Let it thrill through the hearts of the people, so that the farmer at his plough, the mechanic in his workshop, and the merchant at his desk may think of what they are doing, and shrink with horror from the thought of any longer strengthening the hand of the oppressor, or being in union with those who make merchandise of men created in the Saviour's own image. Let us fear not but be strong, for Truth and Right are with us.—We fling no blood-red flag to the breeze, we raise no battle cry to stir up men to slaughter and blood, but we unfurl the broad folds of our banner, pure and white as the driven snow, with the motto inscribed upon it, "No compromise with Slavery, no Union with Slaveholders," and we ask all who are earnest to make others free to rally beneath it.—If the dweller in the great west, those whose homes are on the banks of the broad Ohio, the clear beautiful Miami or Scioto, those who look out upon the waters of the great lakes, and watch the rolling tide of the great "Father of Waters," aye—and the strong hearted sons and daughters of New York, and rugged Pennsylvania, and rock bound

New England, would but speak out and say to the laughing south,

"We leave you with your benighted to struggle as you can
With the strong upward tendencies and God-like soul of man,"

their voice would send convulsion to the heart of the oppressor, he would know and feel his weakness, and the day would not be far distant when "Liberty would be proclaimed throughout the land to all the inhabitants thereof." And shall not that voice be heard? Right is with us, God and Truth on our side. If we are strong as we should be in our faith, "one can chase a thousand and two put ten thousand to flight," for truth above all things beareth away the victory.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS IN OHIO.

Accused be the American Union! How it dries up and withers the humanity and Christianity which naturally spring up in the heart of man at the contemplation of oppression! I involuntarily made the above exclamation after in vain attempting to get a place in which to hold an anti-slavery meeting in the town of Hanover. Four churches and no place in which to "preach deliverance to the captive." Not even a grove, "God's first free temple" could be obtained within a mile of this slavery cursed, priest-ridden town; and the reason assigned was that we preach moral treason to the Union. Nothing but the blind veneration people have for this Union, would so close up their hearts to all the noble impulses of human nature which prompt to succor the oppressed, unless it be their equally blind veneration of the church and clergy. Notwithstanding the exertions of pro-slavery priests and their abettors we (G. B. Stebbins and myself) procured the use of a grove about a mile out of the village where we held a meeting on last Sunday, attended by a considerable number who seemed interested in what was said, though a portion of the meeting showed mob-oratic feeling, which only wanted darkness to develop itself more fully. A few eggs and apples were thrown which were probably their best arguments, as men always use the best they have in meeting an opponent.

Something akin to this was our reception at Paris, where being, as usual, barred out of the churches, we held a meeting in the yard of a friend, on one afternoon and the two following evenings. Here we were interrupted by two Methodist priests (Messrs. Ambler and Murray) who seemed to consider the meeting quite under their control, claiming that seven-eighths of the audience, belonged to them, altho' they declared showing their title deeds. Accordingly the Rev. Mr. Ambler commenced exercising his overseer duties, by putting various motions to the audience, upon which he required them to vote. Among other motions put, was one requiring us to leave town the next morning before daylight. Thus did these Reverend mobocrats and their allies consume the time, effectually preventing us from examining the great questions at issue. After the mob had voted to his satisfaction, Ambler moved to adjourn, although the meeting had not been organized except as he had assumed the chairman's duties. We gave notice that we should hold another meeting there on the next evening; and the mob dispersed. A few inquiring persons remained, however, with whom we afterwards had some talk. The next evening brought the mob again with their Reverend leaders. G. B. Stebbins commenced speaking, but before he had time to finish, he was interrupted by Ambler, who with true clerical impudence, proceeded to nominate, and with his followers, vote in a chairman over our heads, and against our protest; though, to his honor be it spoken, his chairman would not take his seat or act. Ambler again acted as chairman, reading some resolutions and putting them to vote himself, making a short speech between each two resolutions. From the crowd surrounding and sympathizing with him came frequently rotten eggs, chips, stones, &c. Says Mr. Ambler to the crowd around him "I deprecate any disturbance," yes, the man who had just broken up two meetings with mob violence, had hypocrisy enough to tell the mob that he deprecated any disturbance, he hoped there would be none, &c. Altogether it was the coolest specimen of clerical over-seerism and mobocracy we have seen for a long time. And I repeat it again, nothing but a blind, aye, an insane reverence for the Union and the church, could ever so harden men's hearts towards the oppressed, or blind their eyes to its effects on themselves.

At Massillon, too, we encountered mob violence, sanctioned and encouraged by some of the most prominent citizens of the place.—We commenced our meetings in the Disciples church, but were driven out of it on the last day when we succeeded in getting the Clay Club room, where we held one meeting, much disturbed by noise and eggs.—We also held meetings at Ravenna, Randolph, Mt. Union, and Augusta. But how great the contrast! At all these places, except Mt. Union, where we had a beautiful grove, we were admitted to the churches; the people thronged to hear us, and if they did not all adopt our sentiments, they were willing to reason together, showing themselves to be indeed honest seekers after truth. On a review of the whole, we feel great cause for rejoicing. Certainly day is breaking, and the sun of truth shall soon shed its light over all. A pro-slavery church feels itself tottering to the foundation. Its convulsive struggles and efforts to cover its own hideousness from view, only serve to display more fully its loathsomeness. One of the most favorable signs of the times is that a pro-slavery church resorts to mob-violence. It shows that slavery is attacked in the right place, and every effort it makes to strike down liberty of speech should be looked upon with rejoicing as calculated to destroy its influence all the sooner. Every movement the church makes is a death struggle.

ISAAC S. FLINT.
Salem, Sept. 2, 1845.

*Ambler interrupted by saying that Congress had no right to emancipate in the District of Columbia, because the slaves were private property.